

Message Text

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O 221807Z OCT 75

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3150

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 5236

NODIS CHEROKEE

DEPARTMENT PASS THE SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

FOR BREMER FROM MOYNIHAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP UN

SUBJECT: DRAFT STATEMENT ON UN DAY FOR THE SECRETARY

I FEAR THE ACTION OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE EQUATING RACISM WITH ZIONISM MAKES IT NECESSARY FOR THE SECRETARY TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT HE ADDRESSES THAT ISSUE IN HIS TOAST ON SATURDAY NIGHT. I AM SORRY TO HAVE TO BE THE INSTRUMENT FOR PUTTING THE MATTER BEFORE HIM, BUT FATE HAS BEEN UNKIND IN THIS RESPECT, AND BESIDES, AS HE MUST SURELY KNOW, THE ONLY REAL HOLD HE HAS OVER ME IS TO THREATEN NEVER TO FIRE ME.

2. AS HE WOULD EXPECT, A STORM IS ARISING IN THE UNITED NATIONS. AS OF NOON WEDNESDAY, THERE ARE THREE HUNDRED COSPONSORS OF A HOUSE RESOLUTION WHICH DEPLORES THE ACTION OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE AND APPLAUDS THE RESISTANCE TO IT BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. NOTE: THE HOUSE IS RESOLVING THAT THE SECRETARY'S FOREIGN POLICY IS A GOOD ONE. A SIMILAR RESOLUTION -- HUMPHREY, SCOTT ET AL. -- HAS BEEN INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE.) AN UNEXPECTED EVENT, OF WHICH WE ARE JUST GETTING WORD, IS THAT A NUMBER OF SERIOUS COUNTRIES ACROSS THE STREET ARE BEGINNING TO THINK OF WAYS IN WHICH THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION COULD BE ADJOURNED OR WHATEVER
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AND THEREBY NOT BE ADOPTED BY THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. I FEEL

IT MOST IMPORTANT THAT THE SECRETARY ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH THIS IDEA, AS THE FOLLOWING DRAFT DOES.

3. THE REMARKS AT THE CONCERT SEEM FINE TO ME AS DRAFTED. AS YOU KNOW, THE SECRETARY NEVER PAYS ANY ATTENTION TO SUCH DRAFTS, NOR NEED HE.

4. AS FINAL NOTE: THE SECRETARY MIGHT WANT TO READ, AND IN ANY EVENT YOU MAY WANT TO READ, TODAY'S REPORT FROM ABU DHABI. HIS EXCELLENCY FIELD MARSHALL IDI HADJI AMIN DADA HAS JUST VISITED THERE, IT SEEMS, AND HAD PRONOUNCEMENTS TO MAKE, ON HIS PRIDE IN THE PASSAGE OF THE ZIONISM RESOLUTION AND ON THE AWFUL POSSIBILITY THAT THE SECRETARY'S POLICIES MIGHT ACTUALLY BRING PEACE TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

BEGIN DRAFT:

EXCELLENCIES, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THIRTY YEARS AGO AT SAN FRANCISCO, SOME FIFTY REPRESENTATIVES, VESTED WITH THE AUTHORITY OF AS MANY SOVEREIGN STATES, DREW UP AND AGREED UPON A DOCUMENT THAT BEGINS: "WE, THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS...." IT WAS A TIME WHEN MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL AND GOOD SENSE, SICKENED BY WAR, DEPRESSION AND PERSECUTION, SEIZED A RARE MOMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS AND TURNED AGAIN TO A VISION OF A WORLD ORDER WHICH WOODROW WILSON AND OTHER STATESMEN HAD FIRST SOUGHT TO BRING ABOUT A GENERATION EARLIER.

THAT FIRST EFFORT HAD FAILED ALMOST TOTALLY. IT ATTESTS TO A CERTAIN INDOMITABLE QUALITY OF THE VISION, HOWEVER, THAT A NEW GENERATION OF STATESMEN WERE WILLING TO EMBRACE THE SAME IDEALS, AND TO CREATE A NEW WORLD ORGANIZATION OF ESSENTIALLY SIMILAR STRUCTURE, HOPING THIS TIME FOR A DIFFERENT OUTCOME, CONVINCED THAT NO OTHER COURSE GAVE ANY REAL HOPE TO HUMANITY.

A GENERATION NOW SEPARATES US FROM THOSE EVENTS, AND WE MAY APPROPRIATELY ASK HOW MUCH THOSE RENEWED HOPES MAY BE SAID TO
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HAVE SUCCEEDED.

THE ANSWER SURELY IS THAT THEY HAVE SO FAR DONE SO. AFTER TWENTY YEARS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS THE WHOLE OF THE WORLD WAS ONCE AGAIN AT WAR. AFTER THIRTY YEARS OF THE UNITED NATIONS WE FIND OURSELVES IN ONE OF THE RAREST MOMENTS IN MODERN HISTORY, A MOMENT IN WHICH IN ALL THE WORLD THERE IS NOT A SINGLE NATION-STATE ENGAGED IN WAR AGAINST ANOTHER NATION-

STATE. NOT ONE. NOWHERE. THINK BACK THREE CENTURIES
AND ASK HOW MANY, IF ANY, SUCH MOMENTS THERE HAVE BEEN IN
THE PAST.

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NOR DO WE HAVE HERE SOME KIND OF PEACE OF EXHAUSTION. IN
THE GENERATION SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS
THERE HAVE BEEN WARS APLENTY, BUT NO WORLD WAR. THERE HAS
BEEN SICKNESS APLENTY, BUT NO PANDEMIC PLAGUE. MORE THAN A
SUFFICIENCY OF ECONOMIC DISORDER, BUT NO WORLD DEPRESSION.

IT WILL SURELY BE AGREED - IN ANY EVENT THOSE WHO THINK
OTHERWISE WILL KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT SHARE THEIR
VIEW - IT WILL SURELY BE AGREED THAT THESE HAPPY CIRCUMSTANCES ARE
IN CONSIDERABLE MEASURE A CONSEQUENCE OF THERE HAVING BEEN
THROUGH THESE THIRTY YEARS AN ACTIVE, CONFIDENT, AND GROWING
UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION.

SUCH A PAST SURELY PROMISES SOME SUCH FUTURE. AND THIS PRO-
MISE WAS NEVER MORE IN EVIDENCE THAT IN THE SEVENTH SPECIAL
SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHICH MET IN
SEPTEMBER TO CONSIDER THE PROBLEMS OF THE RELATIVE
DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND WELL BEING IN THE WORLD.

THE DISPARITIES OF WEALTH TO WHICH WE ADDRESSED OUR CONCERN
WERE HARDLY NEW. WHAT WAS NEW WAS THAT THE NATIONS OF THE
WORLD, GREAT AND SMALL, WERE NOT CAUGHT UP IN THE VAST
DESTRUCTIVE ENTERPRISES WHICH HAVE ABSORBED SO MUCH OF THE
ENERGIES OF NATIONS IN GENERATIONS PAST. FOR ONCE THERE
WAS PEACE IN THE WORLD, AND IF THERE WAS PENURY IN SOME

PLACES, THERE WAS PLENTY IN OTHERS, AND A WILLINGNESS ALMOST EVERYWHERE TO COME TOGETHER IN COMMON CONCERT AND SHARED CONCERN THAT THE TIME MIGHT COME SOON WHEN THE DISEASE
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OF POVERTY WILL HAVE DISAPPEARED FROM EARTH, MUCH AS HAVE OTHER AFFLICTIONS OF THE BODY AND THE SOUL.

IN MY ADDRESS TO THAT SPECIAL SESSION I STATED THAT WE ASSEMBLED "WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND." THE UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT WITH WHICH THAT SESSION ENDED SURELY DID NOT FAIL THAT POSSIBILITY. HOPEFULLY, IT MOVED IT SOME WAYS FORWARD.

THIS IS ONLY THE MOST RECENT AND MOST DRAMATIC INSTANCE OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH INCREASINGLY DEFINE WHAT THE MODERN AGE IS ABOUT.

IT IS WITH ALL THE MORE DISMAY, THEN, THAT FRIENDS OF THIS WORLD ORDER HAVE OBSERVED IN THE LAST FEW DAYS A SELF-DESTRUCTIVE URGE ARISE IN THE CURRENT GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHICH COMPOUNDS THE UTMOST HORROR WITH UTTER DISBELIEF.

I REFER, OF COURSE, AND OF PAINFUL NECESSITY, TO THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH HOLDS THAT "ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION."

WHAT AN ALTOGETHER UNFORTUNATE, ALTOGETHER SELF-DEFEATING EVENT THIS WAS. AN HONORABLE AND NECESSARY PROGRAM BY THE UNITED NATIONS TO COMBAT RACISM. THAT MOST SICKENING OF HUMAN PASSIONS -- THE ASSERTION BY ONE SET OF HUMAN BEINGS THAT ANOTHER SET OF HUMAN BEINGS IS IN FACT LESS THAN HUMAN -- WAS BY THAT ACT TRANSFORMED INTO AN INSTRUMENT OF PRECISELY THE EVIL THE PROGRAM WAS SUPPOSED TO COMBAT. FOR AS OUR REPRESENTATIVE SAID AT THE TIME, THIS PUT THE UNITED NATIONS "AT THE POINT OF OFFICIALLY ENDORSING ANTI-SEMITISM, ONE OF THE OLDEST AND MOST VIRULENT FORMS OF RACISM KNOWN TO HUMAN HISTORY."

IT WAS GRATIFYING THAT ONLY A MINORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS VOTED FOR THIS MEASURE IN COMMITTEE. THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT BUT NOT WITH RESPECT THE DECISION OF MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO WITHHOLD THEIR SUPPORT FROM A MEASURE NOMINALLY ASSOCIATED WITH A PROGRAM SPONSORED
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BY THEM, BUT WHICH OF COURSE CONCERNS WHOLLY DIFFERENT MATTERS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 5236

NODIS CHEROKEE

IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT THIS RESOLUTION NOT BE ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ITSELF. AT JUST THAT MOMENT WHEN PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS A PROSPECT WHICH TRUTHFUL MEN AND WOMEN CAN HONESTLY SPEAK OF AS A GENUINE AND PROXIMATE POSSIBILITY, IT WOULD BE WASTEFUL, CALAMITOUS, NEAR TO INCONCEIVABLE THAT THIS PROSPECT COULD BE SO SENSELESSLY ENDANGERED BY A RECKLESS AND DESTRUCTIVE ACT.

WE DO NOT DESPAIR. A WORLD FORUM IS OF NECESSITY EXPOSED TO SUCH HAZARDS. LET IT BE ALLOWED THAT HOWEVER MUCH SOME OF US MAY DISAGREE WITH THE MEASURE, THE FACT THAT IT WAS INTRODUCED AND WAS PASSED IS REVEALING OF THE DEPTH OF FEELINGS ON THIS MATTER ON THE PART OF MANY PEOPLES, WHO HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO MAKE THEIR FEELINGS KNOWN. AND THAT PURPOSE HAS BEEN SERVED. THE TASK NOW IS TO SEE THAT THE MATTER STOPS THERE. THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT IN THE DAYS TO COME TO SEE THAT IT DOES. FOR IF IT DOES NOT, NOT JUST THE STABILITY OF THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT THE STABILITY OF THE WHOLE OF THE WORLD ORDER, SUCH AS RESTS ON THE UNITED NATIONS, IS PLACED IN JEAPORDY.

AS AMERICANS REVIEW OUR NATION'S PAST IN THIS BICENTENNIAL PERIOD WE SEE RENEWED CAUSE FOR CONFIDENCE THAT UNITY CAN BE FASHIONED FROM, YET PRESERVE, THE CREATIVE DIVERSITY OF PEOPLES. DESPITE THE VARIETY OF HISTORY, INTEREST AND

VALUES WHICH TEND TO DIVIDE NATIONS, COOPERATION AND CONSENSUS
ARE POSSIBLE. INDEED, THEY ARE IMPERATIVE, FOR IN TODAY'S
WORLD, INJUSTICE, WHEREVER IT OCCURS, DIMINISHES THE STATURE
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OF ALL: ECONOMIC WARFARE, FOR WHATEVER CAUSE, JEOPARDIZES
THE PROSPERITY OF ALL; AND MILITARY CONFLICT, ON ANY SCALE,
THREATENS THE SURVIVAL OF ALL.

THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IS CLEAR. AS PRESIDENT FORD
SAID, "THERE IS NO LIMIT TO OUR DETERMINATION TO ACT IN
CONCERT WITH OTHER NATIONS TO FULFILL THE VISION OF THE UNITED
NATIONS CHARTER 'TO SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS FROM THESE
SCOURGE OF WAR' AND 'TO PROMOTE SOCIAL PROGRESS AND BETTER
STANDARDS OF LIFE IN LARGER FREEDOM."

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN A TOAST TO
THE UNITED NATIONS: AFTER THREE DECADES, STILL THE EMBODIMENT
OF OUR NOBLEST ASPIRATIONS.
END DRAFT
MOYNIHAN

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